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ABSTRACT

To test the spiral of silence model (which asserts that an individual's expression of his or her opinion is a function of his or her perception of majority opinion), a study examined opinions regarding Radio Marti--the Voice of America's special broadcast service to Cuba--in Dade County, Florida. A random sample of 407 respondents (42% Cuban, the remainder non-Cuban) was intereviewed by telephone representing a response rate of 81%. Findings provided only limited support for the spiral of silence model. As hypothesized, respondents who favored Radio Marti and perceived majority opinion to favor it also were more willing to express their opinions publicly about Radio Marti than other respondents. However, respondents who did not favor Radio Marti and perceived majority opinion not to favor it also were least willing to express their opinions publicly about Radio Marti. The second hypothesis (that Cuban-Americans, coming from a political culture that encourages public expression of political opinions, would be less susceptible to the spiral-of-silence effect) was thus rejected, since Cubans' willingness to express their opinions publicly about Radio Marti was not a function of their personal opinions. (Four tables of data are included, and 37 references are attached.) (SR)

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"SPEAKING UP" FOR ONE'S VIEWS:

SUPPORT FOR RADIO MARTI AMONG MIAMI'S CUBANS AND NON-CUBANS

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ABSTRACT

"Speaking Up" For One's Views:
Support for Radio Marti Among Miami's Cubans and Non-Cubans

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The spiral of silence model, which asserts that an individual's expression of his or her opinion is a function of his or her perception of majority opinion, was tested in Dade County, Florida (Miami metropolitan area), with the issue of Radio Marti. A random sample of 407 respondents was contacted by telephone during February 1989. It was argued that Cuban-Americans, who comprise about 40 percent of Dade County's population, would be less susceptible to the spiral-of-silence effect because they come from a political culture that encourages public expression of political opinions.

The findings provided only limited support for the spiral of silence. As hypothesized, respondents who favored Radio Marti and perceived majority opinion also favored it were more willing to publicly express their opinions about Radio Marti than other respondents. However, respondents who did not favor Radio Marti and perceived majority opinion also did not favor it were least willing to publicly express their opinions about Radio Marti. The second hypothesis was rejected: Cubans' willingness to publicly express their opinions about Radio Marti was not a function of their personal opinions.

"SPEAKING UP" FOR ONE'S VIEWS:
SUPPORT FOR RADIO MARTI AMONG MIAMI'S CUBANS AND NON-CUBANS

Better to be a fool and remain silent, than speak and let the whole world know for sure.

-- Japanese saying

Radio Marti, the Voice of America's (VOA) special broadcast service to Cuba, was a major national and international controversy even before its inauguration in 1985 (Frederick, 1986; Nichols, 1984; Salinas, 1987). Although the national and international debates have subsided somewhat, residents of Dade County (the Miami metropolitan area), Florida -- with its large, politically active Cuban-American population and proximity to Radio Marti's transmitters -- still debate Radio Marti. As late as March 1989, many AM radio stations in Miami experienced the direct effects of the Radio Marti controversy when Cuba began transmitting powerful radio programs on two frequencies to the United States. As a result, several local stations were pushed off the air. The act was seen as Cuban retaliation for a proposed TV Marti and Radio Marti's inauguration of 24-hour broadcasts (Swearingen, 1989).

This study investigated Dade County residents' opinions about Radio Marti, their assessments of other groups' opinions about the station, and their willingness to publicly express their opinions with people who hold different opinions. This approach of analyzing public opinion about controversial issues in relation to the perceived opinions of others is rooted in theory which suggests that a person's willingness to publicly express his or her opinion is a function of

his or her perceptions of other people's and groups' opinions (Fields & Schuman, 1976; Glynn, 1987; Katz, 1981; Taylor, 1982; Tyler & Cook, 1984).

German political scientist and pollster Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann's (1974, 1977, 1979, 1984, 1987) has contributed to this body of literature by explicitly incorporating people's perceptions of the mass media -- the most visible measure of public opinion -- into the opinion-formation process. Noelle-Neumann argued that people seek to avoid social isolation by publicly expressing their opinions when they perceive their opinions are popular and remaining silent when they perceive their opinions are unpopular or waning.

This process culminates in a "spiral of silence":

> What matters is the <u>concept</u> of majority as it takes shape in the mind of the individual member of society and of the politician from their observations of the world about them. In this context, the concept of majority can also be replaced by concepts of strength, determination, urgency or future prospects. When from his observations, the individual member of society gains such an impression of strength, and if he agrees with that opinion, he will come forward assuredly and strongly with that opinion, otherwise he is discouraged and remains silent. Here one can use the simile of a helix, or spiral, as the attitude influences in turn the social environment's impression of opinion distribution and increases the dominance of whichever side is in the process of establishing itself as "public opinion" (Noelle-Neumann, 1973, p. 90, original emphasis).

Noelle-Neumann paints a picture of a public so fearful of social isolation that it is constantly attempting to measure public opinion (what she calls the "climate of opinion" or "distribution of opinion"). The mass media serve as excellent gauges for measuring the climate of opinion: "By virtue of operating in public, mass media influence the assessment of what is the majority opinion" (Noelle-Neumann, 1973, p. 87).

Noelle-Neumann does not dismiss the audiences' ability to selectively perceive messages. She argues, however, that modern mass media overcome selective perception by means of cumulation, ubiquity and consonance. These three factors, working in tandem, are so overwhelming as to counter any tendencies of selective perception (Noelle-Neumann, 1973).

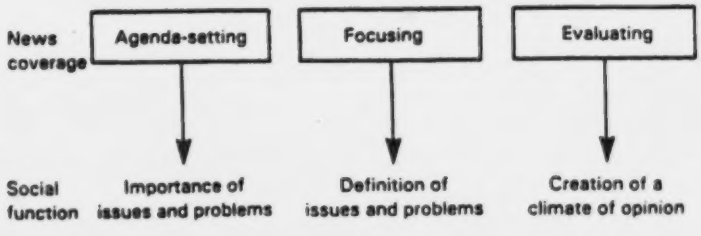
The most controversial of the three factors is consonance, which suggests that the media speak with a single voice and present only one view of public opinion on various issues. Critics of media consonance fervently argue that the media report many opinions about controversial issues (Altheide, 1984; Ravault, 1987). Supporters of media consonance, such as Herman (1985), agree that the media report a diversity of opinions, but "mainstream" or "establishment" opinions are clearly portrayed as "legitimate" opinions while contrary opinions are portrayed as "fringe" opinions.

The spiral-of-silence model challenges current approaches about the effects of the mass media on the aggregate public. The dominant agenda-setting hypothesis asserts that the media influence the public's cognitions about issues. According to the agenda-setting hypothesis, the public learns which issues to think about and regard

as important, but not how to think about those issues (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). By contrast, the spiral-of-silence model suggests that media coverage influences whether people will publicly express their opinions. McCombs and Weaver (1985) argue that the spiral of silence and agenda-setting models are compatible and have called for a convergence of the two approaches.

Noelle-Neumann herself (Noelle-Neumann & Mathes, 1987) recently pointed to the compatibility between media agenda-setting and the spiral of silence. She argued that media agenda-setting is just the first of a three-stage process in the natural development of issues. During the agenda-setting stage, the media give attention to a particular issue as a legitimate issue of public concern. The second stage is "focusing," when the media focus in upon particular aspects about the issue that are deemed socially relevant. Finally, during the evaluation stage, the media, either by themselves or through the influence of politicians and political interest groups, create a positive or negative view about the issue which influences the climate of opinion (pp. 408-409) (See Figure 1, from Noelle-Neumann & Mathes, 1987, p. 409).

FIGURE 1
Aspects of Reporting and their Social Function



Noelle-Neumann (1973) provided a three-step method for testing the spiral of silence: (1) She sampled housewives in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) about their opinions regarding the use of corporal punishment on children; (2) she then asked the respondents whether they believed the majority of Germans held similar or dissimilar views about corporal punishment than themselves; finally, (3) she asked the housewives whether they were willing to publicly "stand up" for their opinions by engaging in discussions with people who held different opinions than themselves in a public place (i.e., in a train compartment where several people met for a long journey). She found that respondents who believed their personal opinions were also majority opinions were more willing to engage in conversations than respondents who believed their opinions were minority opinions.

Noelle-Neumann (1989), who has argued that the "train test" can be extended to numerous situations and cultures, has shown a great interest in seeing empirical confirmation for the spiral of silence. She has pointed to unpublished empirical studies supporting the spiral of silence in Spain, South Korea and Japan.

Noelle-Neumann (1973) replicated her own findings with poll data from the FRG regarding several other controversial issues. Subsequent tests of the model in the United States and England have either failed to support the spiral of silence (Andreasen & Thompson, 1985, Bergen, 1986; Webb & Wybrow, 1986) or found only limited support (Glynn & McLeod, 1982, 1984; Salmon & Neuwirth, 1987; Salmon & Rucinski, 1988). Two recent reviews of the literature on the spiral of silence (Salmon & Neuwirth, 1987; Salmon & Rucinski, 1988) concluded that willingness to publicly express one's opinion is a function of a

number of complex interactions, including the nature of the issues, salience of the issues, respondents' demographics, and cultural factors.

Noelle-Neumann has addressed these failures, mostly from the United States, that have failed to support the spiral of silence. She has argued that methodological problems are to blame:

> I am familiar with approximately 40 empirical tests of the spiral of silence from the U.S. Many of them yielded disappointing results because the theory was interpreted too simplistically. Such approaches interpret the model as consisting of only two independent and one dependent variable. The two independent variables are: 1. Perceived majority and minority opinion on a certain controversial topic at the time of the survey; 2. Expectation as to which opinions will be on the increase and which will be on the decrease in the coming months. . . . A variety of conditions of the theory are not taken into consideration in this simplified version (1989, pp. 13-14).

Noelle-Neumann listed a number of other "missing pieces" that must be considered in predicting the dependent variable of willingness to publicly speak out on some controversial topic. Although adding to the list of predictors of willingness to publicly express one's opinions detracts from the parsimony of the theory, which made the theory so initially appealing and testable, this criticism points to the complexity of the effect and the need to examine how a number of different variations on the independent variables of citizen

perceptions of public opinion must be considered in the spiral of silence model.

The spiral-of-silence model has been tested in the FRG, the United States, and England -- cultures that subscribe to a coalition-building approach to politics (Cobb & Elder, 1983). A coalition-building approach requires social consensus for the political system to function (Qualter, 1985). It is not surprising, therefore, that Western cultures reward behaviors that support consensus (i.e., standing up for establishment opinions) and punish expressions of fringe opinions (i.e., through social isolation). In fact, Noelle-Neumann (1979) drew heavily on the writings of Locke, Hume, Tocqueville, Rousseau, and other Western philosophers to support her theory.

In contrast to the Western political tradition, the Latin American political tradition subscribes to taking and expressing strong political stands on issues (del Campillo & Diaz, 1987). Cuban-Americans in Miami are frequently perplexed by what they view as the lack of sharp disagreement about political issues (Diaz, 1988). Some research on Spanish-language news media in the United States suggests that the Spanish-language media tend to be more likely to subscribe to this partisan political approach to politics than their English-language counterparts (Subervi-Velez, 1988). In addition to coming from a culture which subscribes to taking and expressing political views, Cubans have strong emotions about Radio Marti (Zaldivar, 1987). For Dade County's Cubans, Radio Marti may involve "message relevancy," which, as Glynn an Ostman (1988, p. 306) suggested, may mediate the spiral-of-silence effect.

As a result of this discussion, two hypotheses was investigated:

H1: Dade County residents who believe they hold popular opinions about Radio Marti will be more willing to publicly express their opinions than residents who do not believe they hold popular opinions about Radio Marti.

H2: Cubans' willingness to publicly express their opinions about Radio Marti will be a function of their personal opinions about Radio Marti (rather than their perceptions of majority opinion).

METHOD

A random sample of 407 adult residents of Dade County, Florida, were contacted by telephone during the late afternoon and evening hours of February 1989. Telephone numbers were randomly drawn from the most recent Dade County telephone directories. The last digit of each number was increased by one so that people with unlisted numbers could be sampled. The proportion of each exchange in the sample was compared with proportions provided by the local telephone provider, Southern Bell, and were found to be equivalent. The first person to answer the telephone was interviewed. There were three call backs for each respondent who initially declined to be interviewed. The response rate was 81 percent.

Bilingual interviewers interviewed respondents in English, but switched to Spanish-language questionnaires if language proved to be a barrier. Two filter questions were used to eliminate respondents who

were not at least age 18 and those who said they were not familiar with "a U.S. government-sponsored radio station which broadcasts to Cuba called Radio Marti."

One hundred seventy one respondents (42%) identified themselves as Cubans (This compares favorably with official Dade County statistics of 42.7 percent (del Campillo & Diaz, 1987). Another 222 respondents identified themselves as white, black or other Non-Cubans, and, for the purpose of this study, were classified as Non-Cubans. Whites and Cubans were adequately represented in the sample, while Blacks were under-represented. We can only speculate why. From our conversations with interviewers we suspect that part of the explanation may be that Blacks were far more likely than other respondents to be eliminated from the sample because of a lack of knowledge about Radio Marti. There was no way to be certain, however, since racial identification was asked after the filter questions.

In line with Noelle-Neumann's suggestion for testing the spiral of silence, respondents were asked (1) whether they agree with the U.S. government decision to broadcast to Cuba through Radio Marti, (2) whether despite their personal opinions about Radio Marti if they believe most people in the United States support Radio Marti, (3) whether most people in the Miami area support Radio Marti; and (4) whether they were willing to publicly speak up for their opinions about Radio Marti with people who held different opinions than themselves. Two measures of perceived opinion about Radio Marti were used -- the global measure of U.S. support and the local measure of Miami support -- because of the national and local nature of the particular issue under investigation.

Two measures of the dependent variable of public expression of opinion about Radio Marti were administered: (1) willingness to engage in a conversation with someone who held a different opinion about Radio Marti and, at a level requiring greater commitment to public expression of one's opinion, (2) willingness to debate with someone who held a different opinion about Radio Marti.

The conversation and debate questions were phrased to correspond with Noelle-Neumann's (1973) survey questions. The question dealing with whether a respondent would be willing to engage in a conversation about Radio Marti was phrased: "If you were to get into a conversation with someone you just met in a public place here in Miami who held a different opinion about Radio Marti than you hold, how willing would you be to get into a discussion with that person? Would you be very willing, somewhat willing, somewhat unwilling, or very unwilling?" The follow-up question to willingness to engage in a conversation was willingness to debate Radio Marti: "How about if that conversation turned into a debate? How willing would you be to debate with that person? Would you say very willing, somewhat willing, somewhat unwilling, or very unwilling?"

The conversation and debate measures of public expression correlated (Pearson product-moment) at .70 ($p < .001$). As a result, they were regarded as so similar that only the conversation measure of public expression was used in the analysis. The conversation question was used because there was greater variability in the responses than in the debate question.

In addition, several other measures of perceived opinion about Radio Marti and media use were asked. These questions were asked because the spiral of silence asserts that public expression of opinion is a function of perceived public opinion, which involves a number of different opinions from different publics. The other questions were: (1) respondents' perceptions of their friends' support for Radio Marti, (2) perceived support for Radio Marti in the U.S. in the coming year (future support), (3) perceived support for Radio Marti in Miami in the coming year (future support), (4) days per week of newspaper reading, (5) days per week of television news viewing (6) days per week of radio news listening, (7) perceived support for Radio Marti in Miami's English-language news media, (8) perceived support for Radio Marti in Miami's Spanish-language news media, and (9) perceived support of Radio Marti in the U.S. news media.

RESULTS

The findings pointed to overwhelming personal support and perceived support in favor of the decision to broadcast Radio Marti into Cuba. More than three-quarters of the respondents personally supported Radio Marti (strongly agree and somewhat agree combined, n = 310). Only 17 percent (n = 71) did not support Radio Marti. The rest didn't respond to the question or did not have an opinion.

In addition, respondents perceived general support for Radio Marti in the United States (61 percent support, 25 percent non-support) and strong support for Radio Marti in Miami (90 percent support, 7 percent non-support). Respondents also believed that most of their friends support Radio Marti (65 percent support, 21 percent

non-support). The media also were viewed as strong supporters of Radio Marti (70 percent support, 20 percent non-support in Miami's English-language media; 88 percent support, 4 percent non-support in Miami's Spanish-language media; and 70 percent support, 19 percent non-support in the U.S. media).

Despite widespread personal support and perception of widespread public support for Radio Marti at both the local and national levels, a majority of respondents were unwilling to publicly express their opinions about Radio Marti with people who held different opinions than themselves (44 percent willing, 54 percent unwilling). That level of unwillingness was even greater with the "debate" question (36 percent willing, 62 percent unwilling).

Table 1 reports the results of the two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) on the mean levels of willingness to publicly express opinions about Radio Marti as a function of perceived support for Radio Marti in the U.S. The data were analyzed using the subprograms of SAS on an IBM mainframe computer (SAS, 1985). The Scheffe post-hoc significance test matrix comparing the four means shows that all the means were significantly different from each other ($p < .05$). These results, however, point to limited support for the spiral of silence because not all the means were in the hypothesized direction (hypothesis 1), and in one case the mean was the opposite of what was hypothesized.

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Table 1 About Here

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As was hypothesized, respondents who personally supported (agreed) Radio Marti and perceived support for Radio Marti in the U.S. were most willing to publicly express their opinions (although the mean was a negative value, about zero). However, respondents who did not support Radio Marti and also perceived non-support for Radio Marti in the United States were by far the least likely to publicly express their opinions about Radio Marti. This is the opposite of what was hypothesized.

The results in Table 2 generally confirm the findings in Table 1. In this case, respondents' personal support for Radio Marti was assessed in relation to their perceived support for Radio Marti in Miami. Respondents who personally support Radio Marti and also perceive public support for Radio Marti in Miami were more likely to publicly express their opinions about Radio Marti than respondents who do not support Radio Marti and do not perceive public support for Radio Marti in Miami. However, respondents who support Radio Marti and perceive non-support for Radio Marti in Miami were most willing to express their opinions (although this cell contained only nine cases). Once again, however, contrary to what was expected, respondents who do not support Radio Marti and perceive non-support for Radio Marti exhibited the least willingness to publicly express their opinions (this cell contained only 12 cases). The small cell sizes is some instances qualified the findings.

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Table 2 About Here

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Table 3 presents the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients of personal support for Radio Marti, perceived public support of Radio Marti, and media use with willingness to publicly express opinions about Radio Marti. Personal support for Radio Marti was significantly correlated with willingness to publicly express opinions about Radio Marti ($p < .001$). Three of the perceived opinions of support for Radio Marti (U.S. support, friends' support, and perceived future support in the U.S.) were strongly correlated (at $p < .001$) with willingness to publicly express opinions about Radio Marti. These findings suggest that respondents viewed their friends' opinions and the opinions of people in the the U.S. as similar to their own opinions. Another two perceived opinions at the local level (Miami support and future support in Miami) were moderately correlated ($p < .05$) with willingness to publicly express opinions about Radio Marti. By contrast, there were no significant correlations between personal opinions and perceived media opinions, in Miami or in the nation (English-language media in Miami, Spanish-language media in Miami, and U.S. media).

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Table 3 About Here

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Table 3 also points to a moderate relationship between two of the three media use questions with willingness to publicly express opinions about Radio Marti. Newspaper readings was not correlated with willingness to express opinions about Radio Marti. TV viewing and radio listening were moderately correlated ($p < .05$) with willingness to publicly express opinions about Radio Marti.

Table 4 reports the results of Hypothesis 2 and also shows the contributions of the predictor variables of willingness to publicly express opinions about Radio Marti. Two multiple hierarchal regressions were computed, one for the Cuban respondents and one for the Non-Cuban respondents. The results are reported side by side for easy visual comparison.

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Table 4 About Here

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Hypothesis 2, which states that Cubans' willingness to publicly express their opinions about Radio Marti will be a function of their personal opinions (rather than their perceived opinions of the public), was not supported. Ironically, non-Cubans' willingness to publicly express their opinions about Radio Marti was a function of their personal opinions about Radio Marti. It should be stressed, however, that the standardized beta (β) for Cubans just failed to attain statistical significance while the beta for non-Cubans barely attained significance.

Among Cuban respondents, two variables were significant predictors of willingness to publicly express opinions about Radio Marti -- perceived U.S. support for Radio Marti and perceived future support for Radio Marti in the U.S. Among Non-Cubans, in addition to personal support for Radio Marti, three other variables were significant predictors of willingness to publicly express opinions about Radio Marti -- perceived support of friends, perceived future support of the U.S. media, and perceived support of the English-language media. The perceived support of the English-language media was negatively associated with willingness to publicly express opinions about Radio Marti.

Both multiple regression models on Cubans and Non-Cubans accounted for a small amount of the variance -- 20 percent among Cubans and 14 percent among non-Cubans. An argument can and has been made that the R-Square value is not always of central importance in multiple regression (Williams, 1985). Rather, researchers may be more interested in whether certain predictor variables are causally related to a criterion variable (Williams, 1985, p. 157). In this particular study, however, the contribution to variance is important because it underlies the theory being tested. Even with a fairly large number of different types of "public opinion" in the regression model, only a modest amount of the variance accounting for public expression of opinion about Radio Marti was accounted for.

DISCUSSION

This study sampled 407 Dade County residents regarding their opinions about Radio Marti, the VOA's special broadcast service to Cuba. This study was grounded in a theory of public opinion called the spiral of silence, which asserts that willingness to publicly express one's opinion is a function of one's perceptions of majority opinion. This particular issue was examined because it has characteristics of both a national and local issue in Miami. It also lent itself to an examination of how Cubans, who come from a different political tradition than most Americans, differ from Non-Cubans. Cubans were also thought to have strong emotional attachments to Radio Marti. The dependent variable was willingness to publicly express one's opinion about Radio Marti with someone who held a different opinion.

As was hypothesized, respondents who personally agreed with the U.S. government decision to broadcast Radio Marti into Cuba and also perceived public opinion to support their opinions were more likely to publicly voice their opinions than other respondents. However, contrary to what was hypothesized, respondents who personally disagreed with Radio Marti and also perceived public opinion to support their opinions were less likely to publicly voice their opinions than other respondents.

This study must be classified as one of many which provides only limited support for the spiral of silence model. It also provides some data that is contrary to the spiral of silence. It pointed to the possibility that people holding extreme opinions might be willing

to publicly express their opinions regardless of the perceived climate of opinion. Future research on the spiral of silence should consider "die hards" who refuse to bend before the climate of opinion, and perhaps take pleasure in their non-conformity by standing up against it.

This study also raises questions regarding whether people feel comfortable publicly expressing their opinions, even if they believe a majority of the public hold similar opinions as themselves. The low mean values for public expression, even among respondents who supported Radio Marti and also perceived wide support for Radio Marti, pointed to a general unwillingness to voice opinions in public.

Two regression models of Cuban and Non-Cuban respondents' willingness to publicly express their opinions as a function of 12 predictor variables accounted for only a small -- or at best modest -- amount of the variance. Contrary to what was hypothesized, Cuban respondents' willingness to publicly express their opinions about Radio Marti was not a function of their personal opinions about Radio Marti. Perhaps the popular notion that Miami's Cubans -- and Cubans in elsewhere -- are political animals who love to engage in political debate should be reconsidered. Although a good deal of evidence suggests that Cuban culture is very political, perhaps this is largely confined to a highly visible elite.

Future research should continue to investigate variables and conditions that may mediate or enhance the spiral of silence effect. Variables such as culture, political tradition, emotional involvement, and proximity (local/national/international) may mediate or enhance the effect. In addition, researchers should attempt to discover more variables that predict willingness to publicly express one's opinion.

Finally, researchers should investigate whether there is a general tendency to avoid discussions and debates about political issues in our society, even among people who perceive their opinions to be popular opinions. There is a need to investigate how community structure influences willingness to express opinions. This study was conducted in a multi-racial, metropolitan area with all the associated problems of such an location, including crime, drugs, and so forth. One may legitimately ask whether community structure influenced respondents' willingness to publicly express their opinions and whether the results would have been different in Altoona, Pa., Bloomington, Indiana, or Athens, Georgia.

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TABLE 1

Mean Level of Willingness to Publicly Express Opinions About Radio Marti as a Function of Perceived Support for Radio Marti in the U.S.

Personal Support	Perceived U.S. Support	n	Mean
A. Agree	Agree	215	- .02
B. Agree	Disagree	61	- .39
C. Disagree	Agree	24	- .50
D. Disagree	Disagree	33	-1.42

R Square = .06 df = 3 F = 7.32 p < .001

Scheffe Post-Hoc Test:

* = p < .05

	A	B	C
B	*	-	-
C	*	*	-
D	*	*	*

TABLE 2

Mean Level of Willingness to Publicly Express Opinions About Radio Marti as a Function of Perceived Support for Radio Marti in Miami

Personal Support	Perceived Miami Support	n	Mean
A. Agree	Agree	289	- .12
B. Agree	Disagree	9	.00
C. Disagree	Agree	51	- .84
D. Disagree	Disagree	12	-1.75

R Square = .06 df = 3 F = 6.98 p < .001

Scheffe Post-Hoc Test:

	A	B	C
B	NS	-	-
C	*	*	-
D	*	*	*

* = p < .05

TABLE 3

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations of Willingness to Publicly Express Opinions About Radio Marti with Predictor Variables

Variables	Corr.
Personal Support	.20***
U.S. Support	.19***
Miami Support	.10*
Friends	.21***
Future U.S. Support	.20***
Future Miami Support	.14*
Newspaper Reading	.03
TV Viewing	.10*
Radio Listening	.10*
English-Lang. Media	.02
Spanish-Lang. Media	.01
U.S. Media	.03

* = p < .05 ** = p < .01 *** = p < .001

TABLE 4

Multiple Regression Results for Willingness to Publicly Express Opinions About Radio Marti Among Cubans (n = 171) and Non-Cubans (n = 222)

	CUBANS		NON-CUBANS	
Predictor Variables	Beta	Std. Error	Beta	Std. Error
Personal Support	.11	.077	.13*	.044
U.S. Support	.12*	.056	.07	.035
Miami Support	-.01	.095	.01	.051
Friends	.08	.053	.07*	.030
Future U.S. Support	.25	.123	.14*	.063
Future Miami Support	-.13	.125	.12	.077
Newspaper reading	.01	.055	.01	.041
TV Viewing	.04	.081	.06	.033
Radio Listening	.04	.051	.03	.033
English-Lang. Media	-.07	.064	-.08*	.040
Spanish-Lang. Media	.01	.082	-.01	.037
U.S. Media	-.01	.058	-.04	.036

R Square (Cubans) .20

R Square (Non-Cubans) .14

* $p < .05$